682 576 house to borrow sugar for the funeral feast—a request which was refused. As I was the priest's guest, I could not attend the funeral; but it must have been interesting, for the murderer was one of the chief mourners—perhaps honestly so. My suggestion that he should be handed over [692] to the Turkish authorities in Scutari for punishment was not received at all well by anyone; and it was pointed out to me that had it not 771 been the Will of God the man could not have died of only two bullets. Many men live with more in them. This curious case suggests that in earlier days the house lord may have had the power of life and death over his subjects.

MURDER OUTSIDE THE TRIBE

682 628 The tribe inflicts no punishment. The Turkish Government got its fine if it could. Fines, in fact, being part of the Government's revenue, no effort was made to stop blood-taking by it.

The relatives of the murdered man take blood for him, of the family of the murderer if they can. An intertribal feud may become so intense that two whole tribes are "in blood." Peace can only be established by [727] a Council of Elders of both tribes. When made, it was sometimes strengthened by marrying the daughter of one party to a man of the [608] other. Or blood brotherhood may be sworn. The blood-gelt, fines, and the peace oath are as already described.

WOUNDING

683 A wound inflicted intentionally comes under the laws for blood. The house of the guilty man can be burnt and his goods can be seized (this in Dukagini), as in case of murder, if the elders examining the case think fit. He is liable to have his own blood taken by the injured man or his relatives. Blood of his son and brother may be taken (Dukagini). [693] Con-jurors up to twenty-four may be called, but according to the nature of the injury a smaller number may suffice. The fine paid is in proportion to the wound, and is decided by the elders. The price to be paid for a death—a fatal wound—is taken as standard, and the wound reckoned as one-half, quarter, tenth, etc., of a death price. It is, in fact, payment for the amount of blood lost.

In the case of a wound given accidentally, the house is not burnt, but the wound must be paid for. A man I knew, playing with a rifle, accidentally shot a woman through the foot and, unfortunately, made her lame for life. He had to pay fifteen napoleons to her husband (for damaging his property), and had to undertake to pay a further fifteen should the woman die at any future time as a result of lameness.

2: Durham B-5 (ca. 1910)1928 EG1 Albania EG1

visible mark has a strong effect on primitive and childish minds—witness national flags and school and college colours. The missionizing "popes" of the Orthodox Church had every reason to denounce a practice which thus "sealed" part of the population and made it turn a deaf ear to the attractions of Byzantium.

To this day the object of the Orthodox is to wipe all that belongs to Rome from the peninsula. I found the bitterest dislike, even among the educated classes; and among the peasants neither side would admit that the other was Christian. In early days the struggle must have been even cruder than to-day.

3. Tattooing in Albania

We will trace these symbols farther south. In North Albania I noticed that every Catholic woman among the five large tribes (Kastrati, Shkreli, Hotí, Gruda, and Klementi) wore, if not too poor, a large silver filigree crescent and star stitched to the crown of her flat cap; or a similar design was embroidered and the "star" then larger. Asked why they wore a Turkish symbol, they crossed themselves and denied the charge indignantly, saying: "We wear it because we always do. It is not Turkish. We are good Catholics." They declared also it was "very old"; and were quite correct. For the sun and moon symbol, as we have seen, was long pre-Turkish in the Balkans. I next found that the bulk of these tribes-folk, both men and women, are tattooed on the back of the hand, the forearm, or the breast (seldom on all) with a cross; but never a plain cross. It has a crescent above and below it; or the arms terminate in small circles, as do those on Byzantine coins; or some in circles and some in crescents; or the cross is in the "sun-wheel" form. None of these people at all objected to showing the tattoos. I at once recognized in a simplified form the elements of the Bosnian designs. Most people said they did it because they were Catholics. Anxious to give a reason, one man said it was to ensure you Christian burial if you died abroad.

When I asked the Albanian tribesmen what was the meaning of the circle and crescent on the cross-arms, they said at once it was "Dielli" —the sun; and "Hana"—the moon. The cross was to show you were a Christian. What were the sun and moon for? The only reply was "per bukur" (for beauty). Often they laughed and gave none. Mgr. Ernesto Cozzy, then priest of Rechi and later Apostolic Delegate at Scutari, a Tyrolese whose knowledge of the mountain people was the result of years of sympathetic study, told me: "They have a number of curious pagan beliefs which they will not tell me. I have found that

[Text continues on p. 123]

2: Durham B-5 (ca. 1910)1928 EG1 Albania EG1

they believe in two powers, of Light and Darkness, which are in conflict—Good and Evil. These tattoos are in some way connected with it. So is the Serpent, which they sometimes tattoo and also draw on walls."

I never saw a tattooed snake, but saw some carved on tombs. Mgr. Cozzy, whose work as priest and doctor was beyond all praise, died in 1926—a loss not only to the tribesmen but to science, for his pile of MS. notes on tribal customs was destroyed in the war years, and his probably unrivalled knowledge died with him.

This belief in the powers of Light and Darkness takes us back to Mithraism and Manichæism. That all the tribes believe in this struggle I first learnt in Nikaj, when the thunder crashed on the mountains and my Nikaj guide cried: "Drangoni is fighting Kulshedra." Kulshedra is the evil female power who strives to destroy mankind with storms and floods. Drangoni is the good male power which hurls thunder and lightning and drives her back. As we have seen, the female, according to Mani, possessed but few particles of light and was an instrument of destruction.

The Manichæan belief is shown by Titus Bostrensis Episcopus, who, in *Adversos Manichæos*, tells of a Manichee "asserting strongly and wickedly alleging that the fruits of the earth are created by the sun, which he admires and honours exceedingly. He says that the overwhelming rainstorms are the defence of matter" (i.e. the wicked substance) "and work passionately against the powers of Good" (*v.* Migne, *Series Græca*, vol. xviii, p. 1195). The rain is the sweat of the evil power striving to destroy the good.

The belief in Kulshedra and Drangoni is found all through Northern and Central Albania. I do not know its southern limit. Drangoni can be a man or a male animal. If a boy is born with a feather under his armpit he will be a Drangoni; but his mother must tell no one or he will die at once. This accounts for the extremely small number of Drangonis who survive. I was told that St. George was a Drangoni, which may be the reason of his great popularity in the Balkans.

The Serb tradition that when it thunders and lightens St. Ilija is driving off the storm fiends is possibly another form of the same tale —Drangoni here taking the form of St. Ilija.

Thus deep in the mind of the peasant there lurks still a remnant of the Mithraic and Manichæan beliefs.

A point of interest about the tattoo patterns is that part of the Gruda tribe, the bulk of the Hoti, and all the Shkreli (*v.* Tribes) have a clear tradition of having migrated from places farther north to escape from the Turks. They insist that they were Catholic at the time of the ancestral migration, and may, therefore, descend from one of the northern districts of tattooed aborigines which early came under

2: Durham B-5 (ca. 1910)1928 EG1 Albania EG1

to find it; only the tortoise knows where it grows. You must, therefore, search for a tortoise's eggs and, having found some, build a little stone wall round them. Then you wait till the mother tortoise comes to see how her eggs are getting on. When she sees the wall, she is very angry, for she knows the little ones will not be able to climb out and so will starve. She butts the wall with her head and pulls it with her paws, and when she finds her efforts are vain, off she goes to find the plant. Presently she comes back with a leaf in her mouth, touches the wall, and down it goes. You then know it is the right plant and you take the leaf from her. Sometimes hobbled horses, grazing on the mountain, touch this plant with their hobbles, which at once break and the horse runs away. It might, of course, be the work of horse-stealers, but undoubtedly sometimes it is the plant. I heard this tortoise tale in many places, for tortoises are very common. Many people knew someone who had successfully tried the above plan—but I never met the man who had done so.

In all these tales of magic and witchcraft it is clear that the beliefs and usages of a remote past have survived. Magic played a great part of old in the Balkans. Thessaly was notorious for its witchcraft.

One tide of invasion after another swept the Balkans. The Romans brought new gods and then came Christianity; and while Christianity struggled for a firm footing, Mithraism wrestled with and almost overthrew it. The inrush of pagan Slavs trampled on old and new alike, and before a new order of things was evolved and established came the Turk with yet other beliefs and usages. As each high-tide subsided the points of the prehistoric rock-bottom have shown above the surface. Each tide in ebbing has left debris; but not one has as yet entirely overwhelmed that rock-bottom.

4. Some Balkan Remedies. Medicine and Surgery in Albania

Magic and disease are so closely connected, that magic and medicine are naturally intertwined also. Nevertheless, remedies other than spells are made use of.

These are largely herbal. Both in Albania and Montenegro one hears often: "Every herb has its disease; every disease has its herb." The sick Albanian peasant always asked me for a "bar" (herb), and the Montenegrin for "trava" (grass or herb).

Among the Albanian tribes were local doctors famed for medicinal lore inherited from their ancestors (carefully guarded secrets); and in all Balkan lands knowledge of herbs is boasted of by many an old woman.

In Albania the word used for doctor was always "hekim." This

3: Redlich S-3 (no date) 1936 EG1 Albania EG1

175 of Kruja to surrender the city and fortress to Scanderbeg. The Turkish Governor of Kruja, Sabel Pasha, obeyed the imperial order, and Scanderbeg became master of Albania at the age of forty.

[177] His first act, as Albania's leader, was to renounce Islamism and proclaim himself champion of the Christian faith. During this period of their history, the Albanians were all Christians.

Scanderbeg's personal influence was augmented by his marriage with Andronica, daughter of Arianites Comnenus, a prominent Albanian leader.

The Albanians upheld the standards of Scanderbeg, and with the aid of these loyal forces, Scanderbeg withstood the efforts of the Turks to regain possession of Albania for a period of twenty-three years. The story of Scanderbeg's coming to Kruja has been beautifully portrayed by the American poet, Henry Wadsworth Longfellow, in his "Tales of a Wayside Inn."

"Anon from the castle walls
The crescent banner falls,
And the crowd beholds instead,
Like a portent in the sky,
Iskander's banner fly,

3: Redlich S-3 (no date) 1936 EG1 Albania EG1

Korça, Berat and Vlona, the Orthodox are also numerous.

The Albanian Orthodox Church came into existence in 1922, after the Congress of Berat, with the consent of the Patriarch of Constantinople. This Church has four metropolitans: Durazzo, Berat, Argyrocastro and Korça. The Roman Catholic Apostolic Delegate and Archbishop are at Scutari, and there are five Catholic bishoprics scattered throughout the country.

It is known that Christianity came early to Albania for St. Paul says, "Round about Illyria have I fully preached the Gospel of Christ." The Albanians claim him as the first missionary among them.

Although religion is a strong force with the Albanians, it does not interfere with their patriotism and powerful nationalism. In the face of a demand on their loyalty Moslem, Roman Catholic and Albanian Orthodox become brothers in one cause.

It can be said that Albania is the only country in Europe where there is no religious dissension; they have always remained united at every period of their national history.

POPULATION AND RELIGION

• 77 Mixed marriages are common in spite of the vast differences between Moslems and Christians.

162 361 504 Tirana, the capital, has about 35,000 inhabitants, Durazzo (Durrës), the main port of Albania, has 9,739, Valona (Vlona), second important port of Albania, 9,110, Elbasan 13,800, Scutari (Shkodra) 29,209, Argyrocastro (Gjinokastra) 12,500, Korça 25,000, Berat 10,500, Pogradec 3,400, Leskovik 2,500, Permet 3,000, Santi Quaranta (Saranda), the third port of Albania, 2,000, Delvina 4,000, Fier 3,700, Kruja, Kukës, Prizren Peshkopi, Dibër, Libohova, Kavaja, Lesh, Butrinto, Lushnja, Llixha, etc., are also well populated. San Giovanni di Medua is the fourth port of Albania. Butrinto Bay is also a harbour, measuring about a mile by 1,300 yards and has very good anchorage in 14 and 16 fathoms.

000cessible on account of snow during the winter months.

778 Much festivity pervades in this part of the country in the summer months, for tradition has it that on the summit of Tomori is the grave of Iman Abbas Ali to which many natives make pilgrimages every August from
346 the 19th to 28th. For this purpose, a monastery has been built 1,900 feet below the summit by the Bektashi Dervishes, where the pilgrims and visitors may lodge in comfort before the strenuous climb to the topmost
776 point; and it is another native belief that that top is the seat of the ancient sky-god, related to the Zeus of Dodona and Homer's Olympia, and only certain, privileged mortals may reach his abode, others being warned away by
773 nose bleedings and sickness. Also, there is said to be an inaccessible tree bearing golden apples growing on the summit. The peasants
778 often take oath by "Father Tomori," which mountain they regard with superstitious awe. Tourists to Albania often hear this mountain referred to as "The Olympia of Albania."

• 771 It is the district of Shpat at the base of
551 Mount Bokanik just to the east of this richly historical center that was in constant dispute

AN INTIMATE GLIMPSE INTO ALBANIA

771 351 years ago as to whether it was to be Christian or Moslem. Therefore, in silent compromise, the elder members of the inhabitants had two names: the Moslem one used for public purposes, and the Christian one used privately and for baptisms and marriages, for these ceremonies a priest was smuggled in and out of the neighborhood by night. It was only about thirty years ago that the Christians felt free to declare openly their faith; this was due greatly to the intervention of the Austrians and Russians. However, those of the older generation retain their Moslem names but their children have been given Christian names only.

312 521 757 Perhaps of greatest interest to one visiting this fascinating country for health purposes, will be the healing springs at Llixha, only a few readily negotiable miles from Elbasan. These most unusual springs are certain cures for various forms of rheumatism. The sulphuric waters are so healing that merely by the repeated emptying of cans of water over the body in the oriental fashion many cures have been effected. The ground around these springs is very warm, and until forty years ago, before the useful invasion of the modern

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
EG1 Albania EG1

not been unfrequent even in the present century, and the prevailing tendency on the part of the highlanders to become Moslems, and of the Orthodox Christian agriculturists to emigrate to Greece and elsewhere, makes it probable that in course of time the country may become entirely Moslem.

Like the Kūrds, however, the Moslem Albanians have among the Turks the reputation of being but indifferent followers of the Prophet, and the same opinion is entertained by their Greek neighbours of the Albanians who call themselves members of the Orthodox Church. Christian men marry Moslem women, and *vice versâ*; the sons are brought up in the faith of Mohammed, and the daughters in that of Christ; Moslems revere the Virgin Mary and the Christian saints, and make pilgrimages to their shrines; Christians reciprocally resort to the tombs of Moslem saints for the cure of ailments or in fulfilment of vows; while Christians and Moslems alike mingle with their culture-beliefs, ancient rites and superstitious usages, which both creeds have proved powerless to eradicate. The Miridites and some tribes of Ghegs on the coast adopted the Roman Catholic creed about the end of the last century, and follow the Latin rite with some Oriental differences, as, for instance, the administration of the Eucharist in both kinds to the laity.

The celebration of the Festival of Our Lady of Skodra (or Scutari), which is held on the anniversary of the departure of her image from the Latin church in that town, and in which Christians and Moslems participate, is a striking example of the half-hearted belief of the Skipetars. The story goes that, many years

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
EG1 Albania EG1

CHAPTER XI.

ALBANIAN WOMEN: THEIR FOLK-BELIEFS.

Mr. Stuart Glennie's suggestion[1] that the Albanians are probably a mixed Pelasgo-Aryan race, and that the Pelasgians, whose Larissas extend from Italy and Greece through Asia Minor to Northern Syria and Chaldea, were related to the Archaian White Race, the founders of civilisation in the Euphrates Valley, gives special interest to all their folk-lore.

Survivals of ancient Nature-worship, which neither Christianity nor Islam has succeeded in eliminating, may be found in the form of the oaths still in use in the Albanian highlands. Contact with the outer world has taught the dwellers in towns to call upon the Virgin and Saints, or Allah and Mohammed, as witnesses to their word; but the oaths of the pastoral Skipetar are still "By sky and earth" (*Per kîelh e per dhé*), "By mountain and plain" (*Per ket ziarm e per ket uï*), and "By sun and moon" (*Per ket dielh e per ket hân*). The curious ceremony of taking the "Oath of the Stone," which is said by Wassa Effendi[2] to have been a Pelasgian custom, is

[1] First made in Europe and Asia (1879), and more fully in papers on the Archaian White Races, read in 1887 at meetings of the Royal Historical Society and of the British Association.

[2] *Etudes sur l'Albanie et les Albanais.*

PEAKS OF SHALA

000 shoulder-high rock and dashed to aid the rescue. It looked for a moment as though they would all go down upon Perolli below, but the horse got his footing and stood trembling, his head covered with streaming blankets.

I said then that I would walk, but it was not walking. It was jumping, scrambling, dropping. Those mountains were evidently created to be looked at, not to be walked upon. Bathed in perspiration, I stopped from time to time to eat a bit of snow, and twelve-year-old Rexh looked at me with compassion. He had walked nearly twenty miles that day and was still gay and fresh; the men were still singing.

788 "In a minute, Mrs. Lane, we will come to a resting place," the pitying Rexh encouraged me, and ~~in~~ perhaps half an hour my trembling legs brought me around a bowlder to see the two gendarmes stopped in the trail, crossing themselves. A wooden cross, blackened by storms and years, leaned forward above them, supported by a pile of stones on a small grassy knoll. Alex and Frances dropped from their ponies to lie panting beside me on the grass, while the guides, smiling at our whim, stopped also. Each of them crossed himself before sitting down, for the mountain tribes have been Catholic almost ever since St. Paul preached in the Balkans, and missionary priests have put the cross at each resting place on the trails, to bring thoughts of God to weary men.

[777]

000 Below our feet the cliffs fell away, down into

[on Chafa Bishkasit [10] Mountains -- Analyst]

PEAKS OF SHALA

though in a Paris restaurant one glass of mild wine will make me realize that a second would be unwise. I don't explain this, I simply note the fact, and it gives me a different point of view on the chronicles of hard-drinking past centuries.

We sat there, talking, for an hour or more. The bishop[1] said that he had never been out of the mountains except for a trip long ago to the Vatican in Rome; he had been there a year, and had conversed with his brother priests in Latin. Then he had come back to the mountains and had lived there ever since. His diocese included all the northern tribes, and he visited them from time to time, riding wherever a donkey could carry him, and walking where it could not. Ten years earlier he had had another foreign visitor, a Miss Durham of England; he had heard that she later wrote a book in which she told about the visit, and if he could have afforded it he would have liked to send for that book.

No, the Church had not very greatly altered the ancient customs of the people. They were all good Catholics, and attended mass. But they still buried the dead uncoffined, with three apples on the breast, and when they put a stone or a wooden slab above the grave they often carved on it, not only the cross, but also the sun. One would note, too, that at the rising and setting of the sun they made the sign of the cross to it.

He was not too intolerant of these things. After all, beyond the sun was always the good God.

[1] [Franciscan Bishop of Pultit - [25] Analyst]

POSTSCRIPT

known in European history by his Turkish name of Iskander Bey Scanderbeg—who successfully revolted against Turkey and maintained Albanian independence for twenty-five years, defeating the Turks in thirteen great battles and innumerable small ones. After his death in 1467 some of the chiefs of the central mountain tribes, exhausted by a quarter century of war and confronting fresh Turkish armies, purchased their actual independence by a verbal submission and became nominally Mohammedan. When the Bechtaski sect—which may roughly be said to bear the relation to Islam that the Methodist bears to the Church of Rome—rose in Turkey, it found its most fertile ground among these Mohammedan Albanians. The northern mountain tribes have always remained Roman Catholic, and southern Albania Greek Catholic.

None of these creeds, however, have affected national unity—Albania is the only Balkan country in which religion and nationality are not synonymous—and all of them are rooted shallowly above the old religion of Albanians, which is the formless belief in a Great Unknown from which sprang the gods and mythology of ancient Greece. In southern Albania you will still hear the people taking oath *per kete djelle eghe per kete hene* (by the power of the sun and the moon). You will still hear them calling upon Zeus—Zaa or Zee, the Voice—and upon Athena—E Thana, The Intelligence. In the north, the Catholic mountaineer greets the rising sun with the sign

[See cat. 795, pp. [293] 292-293 -- Analyst]

6: Lane T-3 (no date) 1923 EGl Albania EGl

POSTSCRIPT

of the cross, and hears in his forests the voices of the ora. This vague religion is unconscious. The Albanian himself does not recognize it, but it is the resisting subsoil which has prevented acknowledged religions from taking deep root. Families of all religions freely intermarry; Mohammedan women are unveiled, or Catholic women veiled, according to the fashion of their town; in the mountains neither are veiled. In Guri-Bardhe, a village of the Mati known as being fanatically Mohammedan, the women were quite willing to pose for photographs, and Limoni, the chief, was defying the local *hodji* by demanding a modern school; the *hodji* taught the children nothing worth while, he said. In the spring religious festivals—the two Easters and the fast of Ramazan—all Albanians in Tirana took part, and Mohammedan fezzes were thick in the midnight processions carrying Easter candles.

There has never been friction along the frontiers of the three religions. All Albanians united to resist the Romanizing and Germanizing influence of Catholicism, the attempt of Shiek ul Islam to cripple the Albanian language by a Turkish alphabet (a revolution was fought, and won, for the Latin alphabet in 1910), and the Hellenizing propaganda of certain Orthodox Churchmen.

But there is a real division in Albania. It lies between the Toshks, or southerners, and the Ghegs, who are the mountaineers. Men who have held their mountain fastnesses and main-

7: Amery G-6 (1943-44) 1948 EGI Albania EGI

trying their values by the acid test of survival. Nor were they isolated from the world around them; for the tides of invasion that swept through their valleys, and the cross-currents of foreign intrigue which penetrated into their mountains continually refreshed them with new ideas. Some of them, moreover, travelled to the ends of the earth in the service of their conquerors, to act, on their return, as a ferment among their fellow countrymen. Likewise the three religions which they honoured — the Roman Catholic, the Orthodox, and the Moslem — were powerful vehicles for the spread of foreign influences, whether from Pope or Patriarch or Sheikh-Ul-Islam.

These religions represented traditional loyalties rather than living creeds to the Albanians. Indeed religious devotion and ideological fervour were alike alien to them, being based on social concepts inapplicable to the anarchy in which they lived. In the past, when politics had been conducted under the sign of religion, they had freely apostatised to secure material advantage. Likewise, in our time, they variously proclaimed themselves Fascists, Communists, or Democrats, in obedience to the calculations of interest rather than to the dictates of conviction. The growth among them of the Bektashi sect suggested that, left to themselves, their religious instinct might have developed towards some form of Pantheism, perhaps in the tradition of the Oracle of Dodona and the hierarchy of gods which Hellas inherited from the ancient Illyrians. Instead, the contemplation of the endless struggle for survival and power which characterised every phase of their daily life induced in them an all-pervading materialism. In ideas they discerned but the banners under which forces are gathered; and they mistrusted words as a cloak for intentions rather than as a means for their expression.

Politics they understood instinctively, for the relations between the Great Powers were daily made manifest to them in terms of golden coin and leaden shot. Besides, where there is no law, all human relationships are understood in terms of the struggle for power which underlies them and which is the very stuff of politics. The life of the clans was indeed a great school of *realpolitik*; and though the Albanians are few the fertility

7: Amery G-5 (1943-44) 1948 EG1 Albania EG1

793 barn, decorated only by a crude, wooden cross, erected on a bare altar of rough stones. At the door one of the congregation stood guard over the rifles of his fellows, but each of us retained his pistol or his knife.

[771] For the Mirdites, Christianity is, above all, an expression of nationalism; and the elevation of the Host that day appeared to me less as an act of faith than as a gesture of defiance against the foreign invader marching under the banner yesterday of Islam, now of Communism.

4

* 669 648 When Maclean had seen that our Headquarters were inflexibly set on his recall, he had asked that a boat be sent to embark him from the coast between the estuaries of the Mati and the Drin. The staff officers in Bari, however, refused this request and ordered him instead to hand himself over to the Partisans for evacuation through Southern Albania. In explanation they alleged difficulties with the Navy; but, as we suspected at the time and later verified, their real and puerile design was to prove to Enver Hoja that Maclean and Smiley had really been withdrawn. We saw at once that in the eyes of the Albanians Maclean's departure to the camp of the L.N.C. must impose an intolerable humiliation on Abas Kupi. We also feared that Enver Hoja's attitude towards our Mission might make such a journey as dangerous as it would be dishonourable.

We therefore multiplied excuses for delay, making much of the difficulties of travel while the rivers were in spate, and discovering objections to each rendezvous which our Headquarters proposed. Such stratagems served for a time, but orders from Bari grew increasingly peremptory; and Maclean had just decided that he could procrastinate no longer when suddenly an urgent telegram from Headquarters countermanded all previous instructions. As we were later to learn, a commissar had spoken out of turn at the L.N.C. Divisional Headquarters, and the British liaison officers had thus discovered

10: Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EGl Albania EGl

(Godolesh and Lumë). The first two phrases are evidently old Albanian and have nothing exclusively Moslem about them; the second (lit. 'May I see God') has even a Catholic ring. The third is widely known all over the Moslem world and in certain areas which were once under Moslem rule. But it is used in a magical rather than a religious sense. It is found in magical formulae among the Arabs of Egypt and the Christian Greeks of the island of Zea, next door neighbour to Euboea.[1]

The only invocation of the Deity which the author recorded among the Orthodox was in Shpat and ran as follows: 'By that Christ in Whom we believe.' It is evidently a Church formula.

There was no sign that any of these oaths was preferred to the others; they seemed to have equal value. Readers who know the Catholics and the Orthodox, the two religions which divided Albania before the Turks came in the fifteenth century, will be struck by the paucity of references to Christ and the Virgin Mary and by the emphasis on God; this may be a further indication that the oaths go back to pagan days when neither Christ nor the Virgin was known.

Formulae for invoking Catholic saints were such as 'By that St Nicolas' in Kurbin and 'By the candle of St Nicolas' among the Highlanders of Breg i Matit and Gurrëzë. Both were very grave oaths. The candle in the second is the wax taper lit before pictures of the saint by the devout; oath-takers seem to have feared that perjury would extinguish the flame of their life as easily as a candle could be put out. Of all their saints too, the Catholic Highlanders preferred St Nicolas. No Moslem saints were invoked as such; it was rather by their graves than themselves that oaths were taken. A strange oath, which comes from Surroj, was an exception. This ran 'By this patron saint of coffee'. Coffee, the peasants of Surroj explained, has a 'very important' patron saint. All over Albania coffee-house keepers make a libation to him every morning by pouring away the first cup of coffee that they make. They hope that after being placated in this way the saint will send them many customers. Some believe that he lies buried somewhere in the east of the Turkish empire, possibly in Arabia.

Catholic priests and Moslem clergymen—hoxhas and sheikhs among the Sunnis, abbots (*baba*, sing.; *baballar*, plur.) among the Bektashis—were respected as men of God, and Bektashi abbots

[1] See *Folklore*, Vol. XXXVII, p. 195 (June 1926).

312 with the household marks of the families which are allowed to used
[493] the particular canal concerned in turn--, the screeching ox cart whose
two wheels are two meters high because of the muddy roads, and
which is drawn by the animals driven on by the goad and harnessed
with a yoke on the nape of their necks; the wooden plow whose slade
501 and handle are both of one piece (Figure 9); the swimming bag made
of a goat's skin that is blown up and tied to the front of the body, and
the raft made of four such skins and a netting of intertwined osier
switches, upon which the swimmer puts his clothes bundle (Figure 6).
For the rest the people avail themselves of simple and double canoes,
with or without side boards that raise the edge of the boat, with or
without flanking beams that are nailed to the boat as floaters designed
to maintain the equilibrium (Figures 7 and 8); plank boats also occur. To
husk the corn a mat of intertwined switches is placed on top of four
posts rammed into the ground, and the corn cobs are then beaten with
sticks one and one-half meters long, until the kernels have all fallen
411 to the ground through the plaited meshes (Figure 11). The long flint-
locks, which are quite often beautiful old heirlooms, have only sur-
vived still in the south; they are being replaced by the modern repeating
rifles, the pistols, and the handjar, the knife with the bone handle
221 of the shank of a cow, and the revolvers. The Albanians are to a
241 large extent farmers and in part migrating herders who commute back
and forth between their winter quarters in the plains towards the Adriatic,
where they work their fields, and their summer settlements on the
highland pastures to which they return after they have finished working
[312] the fields. During wanderings in the highlands they rub last year's
mountain snow on sheets of rock that have been scorched by the sun,
[202] in order to get water. The extensive settlement of the mountains has
given rise to the development of a good signalling system by means
183 of shooting and shouting and their transmission. Certain old customs
have been preserved that bespeak a life in firmly joined group com-
binations. To these belong the abducting of the bride, bride purchasing,
the engagment of children, sworn blood brotherhood, and revenge for
[162] murder. The Albanians are approximately seven-tenths Mohammedan,
771 two-tenths Greek Orthodox, and one-tenth Roman Catholic. Never-
theless, all kinds of remnants have been preserved attesting an earlier
spiritual life of the people which practiced a clairvoyant contemplation
of supernatural powers and processes, basing its knowledge and its
actions on the basis of its magical connection with these mysterious
forces. Thus their practices and beliefs included: building sacrifices,

[See 1: Karutz, E1 Europe, cat. 116, p. 69a -- Analyst]

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771 Thus their practices and beliefs included: building sacrifices,
[782] which at one point were most probably human sacrifices; the faith
[769] in the existence of certain snakes that guarded treasures and in the tutelary spirits of people; exposing the dead after the manner of the Parsi, as a result of that lack of respect for the corpse which springs from the knowldege of the eternity of the spirit--the ancient Thracians were jubilant whenever someone died, and they wailed when some-
[775] one was born--; werewolf conceptions; separation of the soul in sleep; wandering about of the dead, especially of evil people who in the form of a ghost or in a transformed human shape cause harm. The foreseeing of the future makes use of materialistic means in order to survive before the masses in a degenerate age which no longer knows
[787] or believes. It prophesies from the fissures that appear in a heated sheep's shoulder blade or hen's breast bone; also from the bright and dark spots in the light filtering through, or from the flight of birds.
[784] The old knowledge of the emanating, radiating spiritual forces of beings and things is used for magical purposes, for instance little pieces of paper that have something written on them and which are worn as a protection or drunk after they have been dissolved in water. The sun still lives among the Albanians as "God's reflection."

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/101: Illustrations./

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Every inhabitant had two names: a Christian name, under cover of which he refused military service; and a Moslem one, under which he refused to pay poll-tax. Constantine Suliman declared the plan worked admirably, and his tribe was practically independent. Pressed by my Christian interpreter, who was grieved at the absence of any religion, our host said that when a priest occasionally visited the place he was allowed to baptize all children that had meanwhile been born. A 553 702 651 A 552 771

It was a fit spot for seeing, for the first time, the soothsaying of ancient days. A 574

The two armed men sent with me as escort gorged the meal, and grinned affably at the heads of tribesmen which now and then bobbed up from behind bushes to peep at us.

Then Constantine Suliman picked up the fowl's breast-bone and held it against the sun. He carefully traced all the lines made by the marrow, and said gravely: "One of us five will die within a fortnight." All took it very seriously, except my interpreter, who was an employé of the British and Foreign Bible Society, and said it was very wrong to read bones, but was uneasy. He and I survived the fortnight. I have always hoped that Constantine Suliman was not the one—if any—who was shot. I saw him last, against the sky, waving dignified farewells to us, and remember him as the man who had lived eighty years and never seen peace, but had kept his honour clean according to his lights—and which of us can say more? A 787

All through the North Albanian mountains I found the reading of bones common and greatly believed in. In times of danger and political tension the primitive rite in wild surroundings was sometimes strangely dramatic.

In Montenegro, too, the custom was common. I saw the bones read there in October 1912, just before Montenegro declared war and set the war-ball rolling which has not yet quite stopped. Battalions of up-country Montenegrins were pouring into Podgoritza and camping near the barracks. I wandered among them. An old man a-squat on the ground with some comrades was hungrily devouring some food they had brought with them. He raised a well-picked mutton bladebone against the autumn sun and stared and stared. I waited, and he cried out despairingly. His comrades jeered. But the old man turned to me and said: "I see blood everywhere—much blood." The younger men said it must be Turkish blood and were cheerful. But the old grey-head had seen war before they were born and was uncomforted. Sadly he told me he feared it meant evil, and I left him staring into the bone in vain search of hope. He read, indeed, but too truly. The war of 1912, into which Montenegro rushed with such hope of greatness and glory, was the beginning of the end of Montenegro. M 787 M 781

2: Durham B-5 (ca. 1910)1928 EG1 Albania EG1
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M 184 551 576 third person without looking at his wife: "She is to bring coffee." Or turned his back and gave the order over his shoulder: "Bring coffee." If he had to mention his wife or present her, the older men still did so with a formal apology: "Da oprostish—moja zhena" ("If you will pardon me—my wife"). This I heard often enough. The mention of any female relative was avoided, and a man with daughters but no sons would emphatically declare he had no children. The girl child was made to feel her inferiority early. "A man feeds his son for himself, but his daughter for another man," she was told.

M 606 551 576 The name taboo till recently extended to other members of a household. The daughter-in-law, when brought to the family house, was not to call her new in-laws by their baptismal names.

"She dared not, for modesty," says Vuk Karadjitch. She addressed them all by nicknames which implied admiration or respect. Thus she called the elder brethren of the house Gospodin (sir), or Djever (brother-in-law), or even Ago (a great Aga). The younger more familiarly, as Sokolo (falcon), Miloshto (dear one), Zlatoye (golden one), or Krasni (the handsome). The elder women of the house were called Gospa (lady); the sisters-in-law Snasha, if they were the wives of the husband's brothers. If they were the unmarried sisters of the husband, who would all be very young in a land where girls are often married at fourteen, they were given fancy names, such as Lepotitza or Ubavitza (pretty little one), or Gospodjitza (little lady), or Golubitza (little dove). Beyond the family circle I found no trace of name taboo in Montenegro.

A 551 553 In the North Albanian mountains, however, in the Dukagin districts, it was decidedly unadvisable for a man's real name to be known. Especially in Shala, Shoshi, and Nikaj, I found it customary for men to adopt another name. It was a constant annoyance to the Franciscans that, though they baptized their flocks with good Albanian Christian names such as Kol (Nicholas), Gin (John), Ded (Dominic), or Pietr (Peter), the lads, on growing up, persisted in calling themselves by another name, preferably a Moslem one. They rigidly kept the fasts; they flocked to church on a feast day; according to their rather dim lights they fulfilled some, at least, of their religious duties. But they called themselves Hussein, or Ismail, or Mehmed, and no plea or threat of the priest could budge them. I was once asked by a Franciscan to express my horror of the practice to a whole party of men. I therefore said no one in England would believe they were Christians if they had such names. They did not like this and crossed themselves repeatedly in proof of their faith. But on this question they were obstinate. They did it "because they wished to," "because the names were beautiful" and, most convincing of all, "because we always do."

A 771 784

In Mer –

178 turi and Nikaj, the men adopt 2 sets of names,
795 Moslem and Christian, and employ the former
[55] while traveling to avoid trouble. They get used to these names and in many cases use them at home. In Hoti, the *bairaktar* once led his men against the invading Serbs, with the help of the Turkish government. In gratitude for his brave and successful conduct the Turks granted him special privileges, and he went over, with his family, to Islam. The rest of the *bairak* is still mostly Catholic, but the tendency in such a case is for the others to follow the leader. In Lura, where mixed families are found, the Catholics have given up keeping pigs so as not to offend the Moslems, and celebrate Moslem festivals as well as Christian ones, to avoid trouble. Very rarely a Mirdite will marry a Moslem woman from Mati, but when he does she becomes Catholic.

797 When the Turks introduced Islam, all
144 Ghegs were Catholics. Almost exclusively, the change has been in the Moslem direction. Hence we may assume that almost none of the present-day Catholics bear genetic elements brought in from outside the region by the Turks or their followers, while the same is not necessarily true of the Moslem Ghegs. *Bairak* by *bairak* and tribe by tribe, as conversion progressed, the line between the 2 religions has remained, by and large, a marital barrier. During the whole period of the Turkish rule, Catholics have furthermore been able to travel much less widely than Moslems, with resultant genetic implications.

• 771 In Albania one frequently hears the remark that "the Albanians are not very religious." This is usually said with pride, for the presence of 3 religions in so small a country is deemed a dangerous impediment to political unity. In one sense, the remark is quite true. Few Albanians are religious fanatics; few of them worry about their spiritual salvation. Most of the Catholics go to church with some regularity, and most of the Moslems keep Ramadan. However, their ancient way of life provides most of the ritual which they need to tide them over emotional crises, so that church and
771 mosque are in many ways superfluous. A
596 man's first loyalty is to his "blood," that is, his extended family. He spends much of his time, effort, and material goods keeping the family together and avenging any deed which has up-

77 [596] [608] set its internal stability. The very act of vengeance is a ritual, as is the constant repetition of the need for vengeance. The rites of blood brotherhood and godfatherhood are rituals performed by Catholic and Moslem alike.

776 Both Catholics and Moslems believe in a host of malevolent spirits which pay the mountains a seasonal visit in the springtime, and which can sometimes be kept at bay by the use of amulets. These evil spirits are of course the symbols of the general hunger, illness, and irritability which beset the mountaineers at
753 this critical season. Catholics and Moslems alike attribute non-traumatic illnesses to spells cast by magicians, through the agency of hair and nail clippings. Wasting illnesses, such as consumption and cancer, may be attributed to vampires, sucking their victim's blood.

754 A vampire is said to be a human being, usually but not always a woman, who can change herself into an insect and fly into a room in which her victim is sleeping. As she fills with the blood, she has to leave now and then to spit it out. A person who finds such a gobbet of blood on the path is lucky; he can wrap it up and keep it as an amulet to protect him against vampires--and incidentally probably expose himself and his family to tuberculosis.

When people are hungry and ill, it is easy to suspect others of evil magic. The person named as a witch or vampire will of course be someone whose actions are eccentric or mysterious, who is a cause of disturbance in the community, and whose loss will not be greatly felt. If a child is suffering from malnutrition its parents may accuse some old woman, and drag her from her house. They will accuse her of having sucked blood from the child, and force her to spit in the child's mouth. Under protest she may spit merely in order to get away. If the child recovers, then the parents are sure she is a vampire; if the child dies she was innocent for her spittle did not cure it. People do not like being accused of witchcraft, or of having their aged grandmothers hauled off for trial; such actions, like the very suspicion itself, may result in bloodshed.

782 The Ghegs are great oath-swearers. Between blood feuds rivals will swear to keep the peace, on a stone in the presence of the